3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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GOVERNMENT

622 624 [177 634] In large measure the mode of government now in vogue among the Cayapa is based on the Spanish system at present employed in Ecuador; consequently we find in each of the three divisions of the Cayapa the following officials: Gobernador, secretario de la gobernación, teniente político, alcalde, comisário, capitán, sargento. The office of each of these officials is hereditary and on the death of the incumbent passes to his eldest living son or, if he has no sons, to his eldest living brother. In case he has neither son nor brother, the office passes to the eldest son of his eldest deceased brother, and should no such son be living, it passes to the eldest of his nearest male relatives, thus keeping the office always within the family. This system of succession is obviously an aboriginal one and was naturally retained when the new form of government was engrafted upon the old.

It sometimes happens that the hereditary candidate for an office does not wish to assume it. In such event it passes to the next in line in the order mentioned, or, by common consent of the heads of the related familes concerned, it may pass out of this order. Ordinarily such a condition does not arise, but instances have been known where an hereditary candidate declined to accept an office to which he was legally entitled, and which it was not only his privilege but also his duty to accept.

[177] The Spanish form of government has existed for many years, so that it is now difficult to determine exactly what the aboriginal Cayapa government was. It would appear, however, that there were but three classes of

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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officials: First, a chief, known as ū'nyī or ū'mī, and now gobernador; second, one or more sub-chiefs, casawa'lyī, now called gobernador nuevo; third, a class which might be termed officers of the law, called tca'itala. All the officers of the present Spanish form of government, other than the gobernador and the gobernador nuevo, are classed under the last head, and in reality all serve the same purposes as did the ancient tca'itala.

The center of government inheres in the chief, no matter where he may reside, and practically all matters, but especially matters of importance, are referred to him.

The Cayapa are separated, geographically and politically, into three divisons, each with its section of the river and its particular village which is used only at times of fiestas or for other gatherings. These divisions are those of Punta Venado, Sapayo Grande, and San Miguel, these designations being taken for convenience from the names of their respective villages in the order in which they are met in going up the Rio Cayapas. A part of Punta Venado is shown in pl. VIII, while a distant view of the village from the river is shown in pl. IX. This is the largest and most important of the three villages. In pl. X is presented a view of a part of Sapayo Grande, with the chief's house in the left foreground.

In each of these villages the chief has a large house, and it is here that most matters of importance are settled, justice is dispensed, and punishment inflicted. In such a house there is a large special room, at one end of which is a heavy stocks for the confinement of prisoners when necessary. In the Cayapa country the stocks is strictly

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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In the Cayapa country the stocks is strictly
681 a Spanish institution, so far as can be learned, and has
177 no Cayapa name, but is always called by the Spanish term cepo, or, as it is rendered locally, se'pō. So far as known it was introduced among the Cayapa by early missionaries.

622 In speaking of ceremonies (page 392), detailed descriptions are given of the methods of punishment, which theoretically is meted out only by the chief and the subchief. The remaining officers of the government, however, take a hand in the actual punishment when asked to do so by the chief, though their special duty is to apprehend and bring the offenders to justice, to keep order at fiestas and other gatherings, and generally to execute the laws devised by the chief, whose authority is supreme and whose word in all matters is absolutely binding. His attitude, however, is in no way oppressive; on the contrary, he displays great deference to public opinion and conducts the affairs of government in a harmonious and satisfactory manner. Perhaps the operations of the Cayapa governmental machinery are shown to best advantage in the settlement of what may be termed civil difficulties, for, as has been previously pointed out, there are few fixed laws among the Cayapa, largely for the reason that few crimes are committed. The laws are more in the nature of canons of ethics than statutory enactments, and they may be varied to a certain extent by public opinion concerning the particular case in hand. The Cayapa maintain that they have no punishment for theft, because theft does not exist either among themselves or against their neighbors. This reputation is borne out by the whites and negroes of the region, who

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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declare the Cayapa absolutely honest. It is claimed also 674
that murder and other major crimes are entirely unknown among them.

On the other hand, there are strict rules with respect 684
to marital relations, any infringement of which meets with severe punishment. The details of this phase of Cayapa life will be discussed in dealing with the subject of marriage. The Cayapa themselves claim that in [177]
aboriginal times the same regulations in respect to these matters were in vogue, but presumably they may have been at least strengthened, if not considerably influenced, by the rigid church laws introduced by missionaries.

It is said that formerly, when the Cayapa were a 173
united mountain people residing in a village community, there was but one chief and one government for all, but that soon after they settled along the banks of the river they became segregated into the three divisions as above mentioned. There then arose the three separate villages for fiestas and other gatherings, and the three separate and independent governments. No special reason for this separation is given by the Cayapa, other than that it was more convenient than to have a single central government; and no explanation could be obtained as to how the officials of the three separate governments were first appointed or elected.

It is said that in aboriginal times the inauguration of a new official was attended by no special ceremony, but that he automatically assumed the duties of his office on the death of his predecessor. At present, however, such a 622
person enters on these duties only after having been 624
duly inducted by the priest during his annual visit to the

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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village. The successor of an official is definitely known long before the death of the latter, but an official vacancy is not actually filled until the coming of the priest. Then, in the presence of all the other officials and anyone else who may wish to be present, the priest delivers an address in which he names the new official, announces his duties and privileges, commends him to the respect of the people, and charges him with the duties and responsibilities which he is about to assume. On the death of the chief, for instance, his duties are relegated to some other official, usually one of the "alcaldes," until such time as the priest shall arrive and inaugurate a successor.

None of these officials are supposed to receive compensation other than the honor and respect in which they are held. The chief, however, usually levies fines upon offenders, of which he takes personal possession and could, if he so desired, use a portion of them for his private needs, since no special account of such matters is kept by anyone. As a matter of fact such a thing rarely or never happens; on the contrary the chief uses the fines for paying the services of officers of the law whom he may send on missions of various kinds, such as bringing culprits to justice, settling disputes among his people, and the like. A portion of the money he uses also for the payment of shamans whom he employs now and then to expel dangerous spirits from his village, from deep pools in the river, or from other places where these mysterious beings are supposed to endanger the lives of the people at large. At the present time, when coins of Ecuador and Colombia are comparatively easy to obtain, fines are paid in money, but in earlier times they were always paid in commodities.

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

ugly to bear, and that I must leave before he began his cure, but the other two assured him that I was a "good gringo." By this point, the three brujos were quite drunk, and unable to function. The father took the child back to the main house, where it died early the following morning.

It is felt that brujos can kill as well as cure, but except for one instance, excessive sorcery was never attributed to Cayapa brujos. The father of Perdomo of Encanto was a brujo who was killed because "he killed too many people." This was the only instance recorded and it was apparently done on an individual basis and not through the legal apparatus.

Government. The Spanish governmental nomenclature can be found with varying degrees of completeness in each of the four tribal sections. The list as noted by Barrett included the following: "Governador, secretario de la governación, teniente político, alcalde, comisário, capitán, sargento." (Barrett 1925:312). In 1960, the terms alcalde, comisário, and teniente político were apparently no longer in use, and no one knew of any individual who occupied any of these offices.

Today, as in 1909, there are apparently three

main classes of officials. First, there is the /ún^{y}i/ or gobernador; second, there is the /káa ún^{y}i/ or gobernador nuevo; and third, there are those officials called /čá^{i}tala/. This term may derive from /čaČi/ 'people' and /-tala/ 'together,' that is, an official who gathers people together. Those officials who are called capitán or /tánde/, the latter from teniente, and the secretario, seem to be /čá^{i}tala/ and are listed on the official roles in the provincial capital of Esmeraldas. Regardless of Spanish title, the /čá^{i}tala/ are not functionally distinct. That is, the duties of all of the officials are the same: to help arrange marriages and to settle disputes. At the ceremonial center they may as a group try a case while the /ún^{y}i/ listens to the proceedings and comes to a decision. In addition to these officials, there are individuals who are called policeman and who are available at the request of any of the officials. Their duties include the bringing in of culprits for trial as well as aiding in the maintenance of a modicum of order at the fiestas.

The /ún^{y}i/ 'chief' of each of the tribal sections

The /ún^{y}i/ 'chief' of each of the tribal sections 104

is the acknowledged leader of the section; however the national government of Ecuador has inscribed the chief of the Punta Venado section as governor of all the Cayapa. The Indians of the other three groups say that while this governor is indeed superior to the others, he can in no way interfere in their internal affairs nor give orders to them. This is quite different from the situation reported by Barrett where in 1909 the chief of Punta Venado was in effective control of all of the other groups, allowing their chiefs to handle only minor matters (Barrett: personal communication). Office is inherited in the patrilineal line.

The /kísa ún^{y}i/ may become the chief upon the death of the /ún^{y}i/ provided the eldest son of the /ún^{y}i/ is not old enough, or perhaps does not want the job. In these instances the brothers of the late governor may be considered. All of the offices mentioned pass within the male line as a rule, but they may pass out of the line if no one wants the job or if no one within the line is capable of handling it. Regardless of title, the duties of the officials are the same: they are expected to maintain order at the various festive occasions, and they are expected to adjudicate disputes among the Cayapa.

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earlier by way of the custom of night courtship described above. These affairs need not end in marriage, and both parties are free to seek greener pastures. It is the decided impression of the writer that the Cayapa women are the sexual initiators generally and that they are visited by a comparatively small number of sexual activists among the men.

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Arranged Marriages. Most men do not have the brashness of character required to steal a woman, and many are not able to carry through a successful night courtship. For them, therefore an arranged marriage is necessary. One way of arranging a marriage is for the father of a young man or woman to ask one of the tribal officials to find a spouse for his offspring. If the official does not know of anyone immediately available, he will make inquiries at whatever fiesta he happens to attend. There is no charge for this service.

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This sort of match-making was attempted unsuccessfully at a fiesta that I attended at Zapallo Grande in 1960. The fiesta was a combined affair, honoring the dead and celebrating a recent marriage.

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by Pablo himself. Pablo was furious with rage and beat both his wife and Chapiro. After being thrashed, Chapiro ran away. Pablo's wife left for her father's house to advise him of the event. Her father, Lorenzo Martin is one of the officials or /ta tala/ of the community. As an official, he was empowered to settle disputes and to order. He went to Pablo's house to obtain more details. Pablo demanded punishment for Chapiro. About four days later, Lorenzo brought Chapiro to the house of Pablo's older brother, and charged him with the crime. Chapiro said nothing in his defense thus tacitly admitting his guilt. Lorenzo ordered one hundred and twenty strokes with the cat-o'-nine-tails, but Severico who is Chapiro's father's brother's son [just cousin] claimed that the punishment was too severe, whereupon the sentence was reduced to one hundred lashes to be applied by Lorenzo. Following the punishment, everyone got drunk except Chapiro, who left right after the whipping.

In the Cayapa view, a conflict of interest in the person of Lorenzo, the father of the seduced woman, and Lorenzo, the official, does not exist. The facts

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